/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685
417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
681

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[758] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
(789) bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Ečˇ, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
(753) death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since ečˇ
[761] kills the most people. Ečˇ lives in the earth; no man has seen
[787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, ečˇ himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Ečˇ is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Ečˇ is not angry, however,
• 782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give ečˇ a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise ečˇ gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 ečˇ demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering ečˇ any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving ečˇ anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of ečˇ. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by ečˇ, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to ečˇ, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give ečˇ herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from ečˇ.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyic
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/281 cont./

755 On the evening agreed upon for the purification from the pest,
756 the patient brings the shaman the required remedies, and the
783 latter divides everything into two parts, one to carry out the séance
[782] and the other as an offering for Thunder. He first takes the latter portion and goes to a particular place in order to offer it to Thunder. He spits part of the brandy into the air and drinks another part himself, as soon as Thunder has expressed his approval of the purification from the disease and his satisfaction over the gift.

[516] For the purification ceremony the teyu and the patient squat down on the ground next to each other, in the manner customary among the Paez. The teyu thrusts his staff into the ground and sets the brandy bottle beside it. Amid coca-chewing and brandy-drinking the hours flow by, broken only by an occasional spitting out of the chew on the part of the shaman. /282/ Through his signs he gradually learns the cause of the illness and also the necessary remedies, which he now hands over to the patient. He also places on his head a packet containing the same herbs, as protection against the evil ex spirit. The teyu now goes to one side and beats the air with his tama, in order to remove the pest that is present. Then he passes it up the entire body of the patient, beginning at the feet and ending at the head, in order to squeeze out, so to speak, the pest from the body of his patient from below upward. At various parts of the body, the hollow of the collarbone, the neck, and the head, he "sucks" out the pest. Into a hole dug a few meters in front of the place of the ceremony he now spits the contents of his mouth: coca and medicinal herbs, mixed with the pest sucked out of the patient. He then squirts a mouthful of brandy into the air, so that the pest will depart altogether, and drinks a further one himself, so that the pest will not enter his body. Now the patient is called. He must first spit into the same hole the mixture of coca and medicinal herbs which he has chewed the entire time, and then he, too, must take two swallows of brandy; he must squirt one into the air, and he swallows the other one. Further purifications of the patient follow, various herbs being passed over him and the pest being sucked out several times and spat into the hole. In conclusion there follows a bodily cleansing

/282 cont./

755 of the patient with water to which šu and yakúma have been added
756 as medicinal herbs, so that he will now be completely freed of the
783 pest. Finally the teyu asks Thunder to prevent anyone from uncovering this hole in which the dangerous pest is buried. He further asks Thunder to help him in subsequent treatments of the sick later on. The patient is told that the signs are favorable, and he is again enjoined neither to use the medicines of the whites nor ever to pass this hole containing the pest.

757 Besides these two most important shamanistic ceremonies, the
756 treatment of the sick and the purification of the relatives after a
731 burial, the shaman's ability and his magical, supernatural powers are also called upon for preventive ceremonies and acts. This is particularly necessary if epidemics of disease -- smallpox, whooping cough -- occur in the village or in a family. In the first instance, the cabildo asks a shaman who is known to be able to speak with Thunder to conduct the proper protective ceremonies; in the latter instance, /283/ the oldest member of the afflicted family asks him. First a pig must be killed for this. A piece is cut from all the body organs on the left side, and everything is put into a new fiber
● [782] bag. The shaman and the cabildo then set out in the afternoon for the lagoon in which Thunder is believed to live, in order to hand over to him the bag with the pieces of meat, with the request to avert the epidemic. During this time the women remaining behind have been preparing the rest of the meat for a meal, which, however, is eaten jointly only when, after twelve hours, the shaman and cabildo return from their ceremony.

758 For several cases of illness and death in one family the help of
783 a good shaman is likewise required. The pest is generally regarded
769 as the cause of these cases of death afflicting only one family, though according to a report by S. Bernal Villa, the deceased and angry members of the family are held responsible for this. In this case the eldest of the family provides brandy, coca, and tobacco, calls together the family members, and asks the shaman to come. The latter offers the angry ancestor spirits a fat pig that has first been tied in front of the house for a whole night, while the shaman during this time speaks to the spirits about whether they will accept the offering.

/284 cont./

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
[824] the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each
type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer
it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full
of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all
the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance,
and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse
them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been
cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product
to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who,
in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic.
According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good
and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry
out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are
convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil
machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for
only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one
who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since
the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good
shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the
evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his
youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already
familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

tion which would correspond pretty well with the explanation given by subsequent authors, except for its last, untranslated member, which seems to imply a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Father Rodriguez. According to modern maps, indeed, the term "Alto", or "Cordillera", de Guanacas, seems to apply only to the group or node of mountains north of the Coconucos and Puracé volcanoes, and south of the towering Huila. This includes the "Páramo de Moras," which we crossed on our return from Tierra Adentro, but not the *Páramo de las Papas*, which is situated south of the Puracé, at the headwaters of the Cauca, Caquetá, and Magdalena rivers.

If we admit, then, that in Father Rodriguez's description the name Páramo de las Papas is merely a lapsus for Páramo de Moras, the area given by him corresponds pretty well with that which is recognized as such by Uricoechea in his introduction to Castillo's work, excepting that the latter extends this area northward to include the upper Yaguará basin. According to Castillo, this last was probably inhabited by another *parcialidad*, which he calls Bemb, "indios infieles de nación pijaos." At Huila, when pointing northward to the valleys on the eastern slope of the volcano and asking who lived there, the Indians answered, "Los Pijaos", and among the Spanish people it is generally understood that the Paez and the Pijaos are one and the same. This is also the opinion of Reclus,[1] who says: "Among the various tribes that wandered through the thick forests of this [eastern] slope of the [central] Cordillera, the most barbarous were the *Pijaos* or *Paez*, who selected innocent victims to offer to their divinities. The enemy killed in a fight could be only indifferent to the gods; but a woman, a child, an inoffensive stranger, the pure ones, were welcome to the bloodthirsty genii." And these monstrous sacrifices must be repeated at short intervals to insure the permanent good-will of the gods.

The area given on the accompanying map (plate 1) corresponds with the above-mentioned description by Rodriguez,

[1] Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, XVIII, p. 305.

[See p 304 – Analyst]

/223 cont./

756 868 members of his family and under the direction of his teacher. The demand for his services on the part of others depends on the outcome of these treatments. Many of the young curers of 756 Togoima, Calderas, and Santa Rosa learned in this manner. 554 All of them state that their teachers had visions, and explicitly or implicitly admit their inferiority to them. "The ancestors had visions, and for this reason they must have been superior to us," says a curer from Calderas. Owing to this fact, people believe that the curers of today cannot talk to [829] Thunder. They would be killed. One of the reasons given to [623] explain why the cabildos /local councils/ of today do not go to the lagoon to wash the staffs of command is precisely the lack of curers like those of old.

* 756 868 Those who have had visions also place themselves under the direction of an experienced curer in order to learn the [782] secrets of the profession. The definitive consecration as a [778] curer is obtained when they offer the "Camarico" /a gift customarily given to guests/ to Thunder at the edge of the lagoon.

[554] Although an apprenticeship in medicine can be undertaken at a very early age, the practice requires one to be an adult of about 30 years of age and married or living with a woman. A "very young" curer would lie, informants say.

* 756 778 782 Consecration of the te eu. The true té eu, that is to say, those who have had visions, make the offering of the "Camarico /224/ to Thunder," a ceremony carried out at the edge of a lagoon, in order to be consecrated definitively as curers, since medicine is a heritage from Thunder.

The teacher asks the pupil for a white sheep and two new pouches. The animal is sacrificed, and from each organ on the left side a small piece is cut and placed in the pouch. This is the "Camarico for Thunder." With this gift, teacher and pupil set out for the lagoon, while at home the women cook the meat with the express order that no one may eat it until they return.

/224 cont./

At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole, over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies"
/see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk, and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine. Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

/229 cont./

75 requested. /230/ He divides the aguardiente into two bottles:
783 one for Thunder and the other to drink. In Thunder's bottle he
● [782] places a sprig of chayuts, after passing it around his body; the sprig remains floating and vertical, a good omen. He puts the coca in a special pouch, along with the aguardiente and cigars. He makes up two bundles of remedies with maize husks. One is for the patient, to chew and swallow the juice.

75 He divides the other bottle, takes chayuts, passes it around
78 his body, puts it in the small calabash, fills it with aguardiente, and goes out of the house to toast Thunder. Then he gathers his pouches of remedies, a calabash of chicha, the patient's coca, a candle, and matches, and he goes to the divination site. When Thunder comes, he will ask the curer what the patient has presented to him. The he will show him the chicha and aguardiente. Thunder, satisfied, will say: "Take this, since you received it." They will drink together. Thunder's share will be tossed into the air. The patient must remain inside the house. When the time comes, he will call him for the "cleansing."

75 Outside, the night is black as ebony. The silhouette of
783 the curer is barely visible. He sits under the eaves to the south of the house. He begins to chew the remedies after passing them around his body. He drives in the tama and beside it he places the bottle of aguardiente. Immediately after this, seated, almost squatting, with his hand folded, quiet and motionless, gazing into space, grave, self-controlled, conscious of his mission, imbued with his knowledge, he spends long hours conversing with Thunder and warding off the attacks of sorcerers. From time to time he gets up without haste, slowly, as slowly as the passing of the hours of the night, and he beats with the tama, displaying the energy that marks the activities of the curer. The patient, lying on a cowhide, with no covering other than his own clothes, sleeps near the fire; he wakes up at different times, pierced by the intense cold of the night; outside he hears the constant, rhythmic, regular, vigorous blowings of the medicine man.

/231 cont./

75 the neck, he exerts some pressure and the icy water runs down
783 the body. He goes down the left side and then goes to the hole to bury these remedies. With these remedies the body absorbs coolness. After having buried them, he blows aguardiente into the air and then drinks some more.

Once more at his place, he gives the patient a few herbs (shu and siempre viva?) to hold in his hand. He goes to the right of the patient and from there points to him with the tama and blows; he draws nearer, and he makes the familiar passes with the tama and the remedies named. He rubs the crown of the head (vertex), throat, and the nape of the neck.

[782] They go to the hole and toss the herbs into the hole. The curer takes a mouthful of aguardiente, stretches the tama toward the horizon, rises proudly, sets his eyes in the direction of the tama, blows violently several times, and soon his attitude becomes entreating. [191] /232/ Actually, he prays in Spanish: "Lord, help us; I implore you for everyone." The té eu said later that he had prayed to Thunder, so that he would help him and would not permit the sorcerer to discover this hole where the "dirt" was buried. He drank a swallow. The patient blows a mouthful of aguardiente into the air and drinks a second one. They return to their places. The curer picks up the calabash of chicha, goes to the hole, and pours it out. It is a gift to Thunder.

Once more in his place, he puts yacuma, shu, and tashú into a calabash of cold water. He goes to the patient's right and from there sprinkles this water first on the house and then on the patient, who first removed his hat by order of the curer. This is a veritable bath, so that if any ptans should remain, it would be removed and he would be completely clean. The remaining water is poured into the hole. He blows aguardiente and drinks some more, the patient proceeding in the same way. The curer raises the tama and implores: "I pay you; I shall pay you." The curer said that he had spoken as follows:

/241 cont./

731 Since the ceremonies mentioned have some differential
755 aspects, we shall look at them in detail.
756 Wé ká (pest-send). When the pest appears in a community,
783 smallpox, whooping cough, which are rapidly finishing off
/242/ the population, the cabildo takes the initiative for conjuring away the danger. It requests from the people coca, tobacco, and aguardiente, they arranges for a pig and invite a famous curer who can talk to Thunder. From the edge of a lagoon, by means of good remedies and the help of Thunder, the curer must ward off the pest.

[782] They sacrifice the pig. From its left side they take a small piece from all the organs and place them in a new pouch. They gather glowworms (Echis) and go to the lagoon. The retinue made up of the curer and the cabildo leaves at three in the afternoon, and twelve hours later they will be back at the point of departure. Meanwhile, the women have been busy preparing the meat, without eating a single piece of it. They have not slept either, for they have an obligation to wait for the retinue wide-awake. When they arrive, the meat and stew are distributed, and the chicha and aguardiente are drunk. With this the people are relieved and the pest is banished from the community.

755 Ut ká ("dirt"-send). This is exclusively a family affair.
756 When the members of a family are dying, there is ptans, says
783 an informant, while another one thinks, with more reason, that it is the angry spirits of the dead who want to finish off the family. In such a case, the eldest of the survivors arranges for coca, aguardiente, and tobacco, gathers the family members together, and calls the curer.

[787] The latter divines up to eight or ten nights. He captures up to 12 glowworms. He asks for a castrated and fat pig. He ties it up for an entire night and divines as to whether the souls of the dead members of the family will accept it. At dawn he orders it killed. The slaughterers, the chicha-makers, the carriers of the sugar cane, and the women cooks are not

/242 cont./

755 * 756 783 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them may work, not even at making hats or pouches. 1 1

[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being performed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[787] [782]

[252] [262] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 * 756 783 532 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho, trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

1 [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

/245 cont./

241 As soon as the curer has collected one fruit of every species to
756 be harvested, he makes up a bundle as on offering to the Ghost,
[782] since he is the owner of the earth.

[776] When this offering has been made, the owners harvest a pouch of each crop sown. They go home and /246/ put the pouches side by side in the left part of the entrance door for
[783] the curer to blow remedies again. Without this requisite, the pouches of food could not be brought into the house because they might carry the pest. The women begin to cook them. When the time for eating comes, the curer first passes around a cup of aguardiente with yuskei and bitopiskue. When there are potatoes, they are handed over to the curer after they are cooked. He distributes one specimen to everyone present; what remains is handed to the owner, who in turn gives generously to the curer.

If the first fruits are of maize or beans, the following is done:

With the green ears of maize, "loaves" /bollos/ or "wrappers" /envueltos/ are prepared; with the beans, a large bundle is made. Then the ears of maize, the bundle of beans, and the loaves are cooked. Aside from this, there is a pot of stew with chicken to provide for the curer.

The cooked ears of maize, beans, and loaves are assembled in a trough, and the cook distributes to all those present a sample of each type. Everyone eats, taking care to leave a little of each mouthful, which they pass to the curer. The latter makes a pile, ties it up, and hangs it from the ridge of the house so that the field seed which is being harvested will yield abundant fruit in the following year.

The husks of the ears of maize are piled outside the house, where the curer remains for one night with the object of capturing glowworms and killing them.

776 Assisting spirits. Thunder. All the informants state that Thunder is short in stature, about 1.40 meters, wears a large hat of twigs, underdrawers, a black poncho, tama, and pouch

/320 cont./

propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with propositions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multiplication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.) on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again. How can this be explained? The persons relating the story repeatedly ask.

Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, religious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the precaution of calling the Tẽ eu. He orders them to take a small piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose of which is to please him.

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.
[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
[782] natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They
[233] still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

/329 cont./

476 241 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 461 241 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.

476 241 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to [782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether [273] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they re- [535] ceive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often [578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 435 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with 15 laborers costs the following:

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SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [478] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Pdez* and *Moguez* are be- [433] ginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular [782] individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [273] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, 231 turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the [177] turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, [438] and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [25] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

574 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 431 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Pdez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
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881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 871 [868] **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

[562] [177]

595 [77] 583 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholicism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

583 585 527 [782] [775]

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[1147] [727]

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

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upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their menstruation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" to persecute the men and make them ill.

Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [1] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[1] Statement made by Javier de Orosco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobaima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Bolaloesar, or Páez.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast.